

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15 IO-13

OMB-01 EUR-25 RSR-01 /127 W  
----- 024145

R 071017Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1111

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOGADISCIO 1149

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: TAGS: PFOR, ET, SO, OAU

SUBJ: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SIAD: SOMALI-ETHIOPIAN DISPUTE

REF: A. STATE 150691; B. ADDIS 9111; C. MOG 1087

1. SUMMARY: IN LONG MEETING WITH CHARGE AFTERNOON AUG 6, SIAD EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR US BRINGING GSDR CONCERNS TO ATTENTION OF EMPEROR AND OAU. HOWEVER HE INSISTED THAT IEG FORCES IN OGADEN WERE TOO LARGE TO BE DEFENSIVE AND AGAIN "APPEALED" THAT PRESIDENT NIXON PERSONALLY INTERVENE TO RESTRAIN ETHIOPIANS.

2. SIAD RECEIVED CHARGE IN AFTERNOON OF BUSY DAY DURING WHICH HE ACCEPTED NEW INDIAN AND PAK. AMBASSADORS' CREDENTIALS, MET WITH VISITING NIGERIAN DELEGATION AND RECEIVED OUTGOING SUDANESE AMBASSADOR FOR FAREWELL CALL. WHEN CHARGE INITIALLY ATTEMPTED BRING SIAD UP-TO-DATE ON US RESPONSE TO SOMALI DEMARCHES, SIAD SAID HE FIRST WANTED TO TALK ABOUT BASIC PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF HIS GOVERNMENT. LONG EXPOSITION FOLLOWED OF SOMALIA'S NEED TO BUILD INSTITUTIONS BASED ON AFRICAN REALITIES. WESTERN  
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DEMOCRATIC MODEL TAHT SOMALIS HAD TRIED IN 1960-69 PERIOD HAD

BEEN BEEN COMPLETE FAILURE. PERHAPS AT SOME TIME SOMALIA WOULD BE READY FOR HIGHLY ADVANCED DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL STRUCTURE, BUT NOT NOW. HE HOPED AMERICANS AND OTHER WESTERNERS WOULD APPRECIATE WHAT SOMALIA WAS TRYING TO DO. CHARGE REPLIED THAT SOMALI SELF-HELP ETHIC WAS LAUDABLE; USG APPRECIATED AFRICA'S NEED TO BUILD OWN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT COPYING OTHER MODELS. WE HOPED MORE AMERICANS COULD SEE SOMALIA AT FIRST HAND AND THEREFORE THOUGHT REPRESENTATIVE BINGHAM'S VISIT WAS IMPORTANT. SIAD AGREED AND SAID HE HAD RECENTLY ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS THAT BINGHAM SHOULD BE GUEST OF GSDR.

3. CHARGE THEN SUMMARIZED AMB. ADAIR'S JULY 25 MEETING WITH HIM, JULY 27 ROSS/NEWSOM-ADDOU MEETING, AND DCM WYMAN'S AUG 2 ADDIS MEETING WITH OAU SEC GEN EKANGAKI. HIM HAD TOLD AMB. ADAIR THAT IEG WANTED NOTHING FROM SOMALIA EXCEPT PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BUT WAS UNWILLING GIVE UP OGADEN<sup>4</sup> EKANGAKI HAD SAID HE CONVINCED NEITHER ETHIOPIAN NOR SOMALI WANTED HOSTILITIES; HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA AND SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA; AND HAD MENTIONED THAT BOTH GSDR AND IEG FAVORED SOME FORM OF WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES AWAY FROM BORDER IN ORDER RELIEVE TENSIONS. CHARGE ASKED SIAD WHETHER OAU COULD NOT HAMMER OUT MODALITIES OF FORCE WITHDRAWAL WHICH SEEMED IMPORTANT STEP TO REDUCE TENSION AND POSSIBILITY OF INCIDENTS. CHARGE ALSO ASKED WHETHER OAU OBSERVERS COULD NOT MONITOR TROOPS ON BOTH SIDES OF BORDER.

4. SIAD REPEATED MUCH OF RATIONALE HE HAD GIVEN JULY 23 AS TO WHY SOMALIS COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT TAKE MILITARY ACTION AGAINST ETHIOPIA. CRUCIAL PRESENT PROBLEM, HE SAID, WAS FACT ETHIOPIAN FORCES IN OGADEN WERE FAR LARGER THAN REQUIRED FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES. NO ETHIOPIAN PROTESTATIONS OF "DEFENSIVE NEED" COULD ALTER THIS FACT. THESE FORCES MUST BE REMOVED FROM BORDER. HE NOTED REPORTS THAT US HAD PROMISED TO GIVE ETHIOPIANS NEW TANK BATTALION AND SOPHISTICATED AIMKRAFT. CHARGE SAID THAT ETHIOPIAN CONCERN OVER SOVIET MILITARY DELIVERIES HAD PROMPTED THEIR REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT FROM US. HOWEVER, US HAD MADE NO RESPONSE TO THIS REQUEST AND THERE HAD BEEN NO DELIVERIES OR PROMISES OF EQUIPMENT ADDITIONAL

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TO OUR SMALL ON-GOING PROGRAM. CHARGE ALSO MENTIONED CONTINUING REDUCTION IN PERSONNEL AT KAGNEW.

5. SIAD SAID JULY 23 INCIDENT AT DAVEGORIALE (MOG 1110) ILLUSTRATED DANGER OF PRESENT SITUATION. INCIDENT OCCURRED WHEN SEVERAL HUNDRED SOMALI SHEEP AND CAMELS MOVED FEW HUNDRED YARDS ON ETHIOPIAN SIDE OF BORDER. AFTER SEIZING AND HOLDING LIVESTOCK, ETHIOPIANS HAD REFUSED DISCUSS MATTER WITH GSDR

MILITARY OR CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES. SIAD HAD PERSONALLY ORDERED CIVILIAN GOVERNOR TO TAKE NO PROVOCATIVE ACTION AGAINST ETHIOPIANS. SIAD THOUGHT IT CLEAR THAT INCIDENT WAS PROVOKED BY ETHIOPIAN MILITARY'S NEED FOR FOOD. HE AGAIN REFERRED TO NERVOUSNESS OF IEG TROOPS AND FACT THEY BECOMING INCREASINGLY TRIGGER-HAPPY IN UNFAMILIAR OGADEN.

6. SIAD SAID HE APPRECIATED OUR RAISING SOMALI CONCERNS WITH EMPEROR AND EKANGAKI BUT STILL BELIEVED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON, SHOULD FRANKLY TELL EMPEROR TO PULL BACK FROM IEG'S AGGRESSIVE STANCE. IF US REALLY WANTED PEACE IN HORN OF AFRICA, IT MUST MAKE IT COMPLETELY CLEAR TO EMPEROR THAT US MATERIAL COULD NOT BE USED FOR OFFENSIVE PURPOSES. (HE QUOTED SOMALI PROVERB THAT "ONE CUTS OFF THE NOSE BUT NOT THE TAIL", I.E. YOU MUST ACT EARLY ON A DEVELOPING PROBLEM.) AT THIS POINT IN CONVERSATION SIAD FOR FIRST TIME BECAME AGITATED AND SHOWED EMOTION. HE SAID HE NO LONGER TRUSTED EMPEROR, WHO NOW SEEMED TO BE SAYING THINGS WHICH WERE JUST NOT TRUE. CHIEFS OF STATE, SIAD SAID, COULD NEVER TALK "DIPLOMATICALLY" BETWEEN THEMSELVES. THEY MUST ALWAYS BE FRANK AND HONEST.

7. COMMENT: BASIC THRUST OF SIAD'S LONG PRESENTATION WAS PLEA FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT SOMALIA WAS STRUGGLING TO BUILD ITS NATION AND COULD NOT AFFORD WAR EVEN IF IT WANTED TO--WHICH IT DID NOT. HE SEEMED SLIGHTLY LESS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT OAU ROLE. HOWEVER, HE GAVE NO INDICATION THAT HE PULLING BACK FROM CONVICTION THAT PRESIDENT NIXON SHOULD CAUTION EMPEROR. CROMWELL

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